

DR. IHSAN ALI, 1904-1978

Dr IHSAN ALI'S PERSONALITY, PRINCIPLES AND VISION FOR CYPRUS

STATEMENTS MADE BY DISTINGUISHED PERSONS
ON 6 NOVEMBER 1998
AT A MEETING AT THE CYPRUS HILTON HOTEL

IHSAN ALI FOUNDATION

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Member of the Board of Trustees
Ihsan Ali Foundation

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Foreword

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the passing away of Dr Ihsan Ali, the Ihsan Ali Foundation organised a panel meeting at the Hilton Hotel, Nicosia, on 6 November 1998, where distinguished personalities made statements submitting their papers, or participated in the discussions, on Dr Ihsan Ali's personality, philosophy and vision for a united and peaceful Cyprus. This booklet contains the papers submitted by the speakers. I wish to express to them the appreciation and the thanks of the Board of Trustees of the Foundation. I also wish to express our thanks to those who participated in the discussions at that meeting, namely Hon. Lellos Demetriades and other members of the Board of Trustees as well as Andreas Christou, Christos Clerides, Stelios Theodoulou and Charis Menelaou, whose contributions were very useful both in highlighting Dr Ihsan Ali's efforts and in suggesting ways for the work of the Foundation.

I would like to take this opportunity to say a few words about Dr Ihsan Ali from whom I have learned a lot since my childhood. God bless his soul!

First of all, Dr Ihsan Ali was a humanitarian. He had compassion and was very much interested in the well being of all human beings. He felt pity for the poor, the sick and the afflicted. There were cases where he not only examined, diagnosed and treated poor patients, but also gave them money to go to a restaurant before they returned to their villages.

He believed that all human beings should always tell the truth. He also believed that it is only noble for one to admit one's mistakes. He never differentiated people on grounds of race, religion or colour. He always stood for equality and non-discrimination. He was sensitive, anti-chauvinist and far-sighted. He strongly believed in fairness and justice as well as in social justice.

He was exemplary in moral courage. When, in 1950s, young boy Evagoras Pallikarides was sentenced to death by the British colonial justice, he published in the press an open letter to the Governor of Cyprus saying that the sentence was uncivilised because it involved a young boy who took some political action, not essentially a criminal action. He did so, knowing perfectly well that many Turkish Cypriots would be disappointed, especially at the time, by a Turkish Cypriot's support to a Greek Cypriot boy working for "Enosis".

He was a true Cypriot, working hard to keep Cyprus as an independent state. He struggled against separatism and partition. He became controversial within his own community because he strongly objected to the Turkish Cypriot leadership's "From Turk to Turk Campaign" in the economic field in the late 1950s. He was

against the colonial rule over Cyprus and against foreign interference in the affairs of Cyprus, such as those of NATO. He wrote in the press against such interference.

Dr Ihsan Ali believed in mutual understanding, tolerance and friendship among all people. He understood the Greek passion for uniting Cyprus with Greece, although he did not find the idea realistic ad feasible. In his efforts to see Cyprus as an independent and sovereign State, he wrote letters to many authorities, including President Makarios, United Nations Secretary-General U Thant, General Gyani of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, General Timaya of the same Force, and Turkey's leaders Ismet Inonu and Suat Hayri Urguplu. He issued messages in the press and in radio interviews to both the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots, not only in Cyprus but also in London.

In 1960, just after the 27 May military **coup** in Turkey, he flied to Ankara to brief the Turkish leadership about the situation in Cyprus and to request them to bring into line the Turkish Cypriot leadership whose separatist policies he very much opposed. He then managed to have an interview with Bulent Edjevit who was very close to Ismet Inonu and who was the chief editor of an influential weekly magazine. Unfortunately, his scheduled appointment with Inonu the next day did not materialise because some members of the coup regime, including Alpaslan Turkesh, ordered him back to Cyprus immediately.

Dr Ihsan Ali was a man of intuition and foresight. For example, after R. Denktash resigned from his high post in the Attorney-General's Office and got involved in politics as the Chairman of the Federation of the Turkish Cypriot Organizations, Denktash organised a meeting in Paphos and sent a message to Dr Ali through Dr Nalbantoglou to be present and speak at that meeting. Dr Ali expressed his thanks, but declined to attend the meeting, saying that he would wait and see whether Denktash's activities would be in line with his own principles and whether they would be for the good of the Turkish Cypriots as well as of the whole population of Cyprus.

With his foresight, Dr Ihsan Ali realised that no good could come to Cyprus from the Greek military coup in 1967. Also, he could not see in 1971 any good coming to Cyprus from the EOKA B. He had warned President Makarios of a possible coup by the Greek Junta, reminding him of the coup against President Allende in Chile. He did not see favourably the Zurich-London Agreements on Cyprus. He did not like the provisions for separate municipalities, separate justice, and the stationing in Cyprus of Greek and Turkish soldiers. He also did not favour the Treaty of Guarantee. For all these, he blamed mainly the Colonial rule.

From the very beginning Dr Ihsan Ali was against the use of Turkish Cypriots as Auxiliary Police against the Greek Cypriots. He blamed Denktash for inciting the Turkish Cypriots to desert mixed villages, while later he blamed the EOKA B for inciting the Turkish Cypriots to go to the north with a view to achieving double "Enosis".

It is noteworthy that because of his strong logic and convincing power, in many cases the Turkish Cypriot leadership prevented especially visitors from Turkey to visit Dr Ihsan Ali.

Full details about Dr Ihsan Ali's efforts for an independent and sovereign state of Cyprus may be seen in his book **My Memoirs,** published in 1980 in Greek in Nicosia, which will soon be published in English, too.

Dr Ozdemir A. Ozgur
Chairman
Ihsan Ali Foundation

Dr. Ihsan Ali

I had the privilege of meeting Dr. Ihsan Ali and his wife in 1953 when I was posted in Paphos upon my appointment to the judiciary of Cyprus. I was immediately impressed by his personality and the strength of his character. It was evident that behind the natural calmness and politeness of his manners there was a man of great principles and dedication to his beliefs. He was the kind of person that one could immediately trust and rely upon if the need arose. His subsequent life proved my initial assessment of him right.

During those years I enjoyed the warm hospitality of their home and the unforgettable delicacies from the kitchen of Mrs Ihsan Ali, Medrure to her friends, and who was not a friend of hers? She was highly respected and loved by all ladies both Greek and Turkish. She gave him a happy place to live and meet his friends. Let us not forget that behind every great man there is a great woman and Dr. Ihsan Ali was a great man.

In that warm atmosphere he had the opportunity to develop his ideas about people and life, particularly about Cypriots irrespective of race, creed, or religion and, of course, about his permanent love, Cyprus, and its future.

His foresight and intuition were evident in his conversation. He could see at that time things that others took no notice of and in fact when indicated they dropped as nonsense, until it was for all too late to remedy. He would talk about life and people and the kindness with which he approached both topics was unique. He wanted for every inhabitant of Cyprus that kind of happiness that unites peoples and dismisses the weaknesses and pettiness of the unworthy instigators of hatred and division. His efforts were relentless and he spared no time and energy in seeing that the happy and brotherly way with which Cypriots lived continued and developed for the benefit of all, for a better life with freedom and social justice that was the outcome of a firm belief that there was value in both. He believed that the future of the whole mankind could and should be built on these principles.

As a medical man he was facing at every hour of his professional life the misery from poverty and helplessness from illness in a district like Paphos where these matters were at that time a chronic disease. Guided always by his humanitarian feelings he tried to alleviate the suffering of the poor and give relief and hope, single handed, to the sick, at a time that the improvement of economic and social conditions were not in the forefront of government's policy. He was not a rich man, but no one was ever refused his high professional services because he had no money to pay or pay for the medicines that he was providing to the needy who called on him, be they were Greeks or Turks.

Dr. Ihsan Ali will always be remembered as a distinguished medical man, as a man with vision based on true love for his fellow human beings and as a practical politician who saw the storm coming and tried at a great cost to himself to avert it for the benefit of all Cypriots.

May his life and actions set an example for others. Personalities of this calibre are never forgotten!

Andreas N. Loizou
Ex-Chief Justice

Dr. Ihsan Ali and Human Rights

The World this year celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the most momentous date in the calendar of the quest for human rights and fundamental freedoms and at the same time the foundation and the basis for every international, be it regional or global, instrument that seeks to protect the dignity of the human person.

Three pillars in the Declaration's edifice stand out in absolute majesty proclaiming the sanctity of the right to life, non-discrimination on such grounds as religion, race, origin or sex and the freedom of expression. They protect the human being, his dignity and also democracy. They are the cornestone and the quintessence of a just, fair, and viable society that limits the risks of disorder and bestows social justice, dignity and continuity.

There is hardly a country that does not, either through its governmental institutions or though its non-governmental organizations, or through both, mark and celebrate this important anniversary. Yet there is still such a gap between words and acts and the short memories of the governing and governed, in the former case spurned by populism and in the letter by misguided nationalism or even chauvinism, often lead us onto the catastrophic paths of lack of respect for life, dignity and democracy.

I had an occasion recently to refer to the pharisaism of governments, citing two examples: those of the conventions to protect children and to eliminate discrimination against women and the contradiction that rampant child pornography and inequality and exploitation of women and children presents.

Here in Cyprus we are also celebrating this anniversary with the first(?) signs of xenophobia and prejudice as the case of the so-called refugees that we rescued from the sea and the more recent one of the "unwanted" refugees on the S.B.A. denote.

But much more than that the two communities in Cyprus are drifting more and more apart making the solution more difficult, with hardly any action to improve the situation and with patchwork remedial action characterised occasionally by some of the media as almost treacherous.

And all this brings to my mind one man and his credo. A visionary with principles and emphatic admonitions that he preached ***urbi et orbi*** without any hesitation and without fear or favour. That man was Ihsan Ali, the benevolent doctor cum politician who practiced non-discrimination on any of the prohibited, by conventions, grounds but in particular on grounds of race, ethnic origin or religion. He was certain that non-discrimination does not only ensure the dignity

of the human person but also, if coupled with understanding, tolerance and friendship, would ensure a peaceful resolution of inter-communal problems and what is more would ensure the unity of our common country and remove all dangers of separatism or partition, both of which were unthinkable to Dr Ihsan Ali.

The moment of truth for Cyprus is just around the corner; beyond that the point of no return would be already behind us. Aggressive nationalism, populism and the exploitation of a difficult problem for domestic party politics within and without Cyprus have let us to unfathomable depths of desperation and intransigence.

The modern approach to chronic problems of bi-communcal nature is federalism augmented by functionality. Transitional asymmetric federalism could achieve the purpose of peace regarding the conflicts of a fragmented society that has forgotten what Ihsan Ali enjoined them to practice.

Political scientists and international lawyers believe that states confronted with conflicts can resort to federalism as the only, perhaps, political, social and legal framework to hold together societies or communities that tend to dissolute. Human rights and non-discrimination is a *sine qua non*.

Let us all work in good faith to bring an end to our drama. Let us practise what Ihsan Ali bequeathed to us. Only then would Ihsan Ali rest contented in his beloved Cyprus' soil.

Ambassador A. Mavromatis
Former Interlocutor,
Cyprus Intercommunal Talks

Some personal thoughts on Dr. Ihsan Ali's personality and philosophy

We have been asked to remember Dr. Ihsan Ali and express our personal thoughts and beliefs about Ihsan Ali, the person, his work, the ideas he believed in and propagated during his lifetime.

Dr Ihsan Ali was one of those Cyprus' political leaders, who believed in the idea of an Independent Cyprus State in which Greek and Turkish Cypriots and the other smaller minorities should and could live together in peace and cooperate with each other for the common good.

In Paphos, where I was born and spent the first years of my life, Dr Ihsan Ali was not only our doctor but also our friend. He was loved by all the Paphians because of his kindness, his fairness and his sense of social justice. I believe there must be a correlation between my personal beliefs and the endless discussions that I was listening to as a small child at Ihsan Ali's circle to which my father belonged. (They had I am sure a positive effect in the formation of my young mind and I am thus grateful). I am afraid, however, that with the passage of time there is a real danger to distance ourselves from the ideas and principles of Ihsan Ali.

Regrettably, the prudent and moderate political leaders from both communities did not succeed in imposing the policy of reason that leads to the rapprochement of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots and the elimination of all the dividing elements that were implanted in our life, after the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960. Ihsan Ali had many reservations for the London-Zurich Agreements and he often expressed his fear that it would be very difficult for these agreements to work, because the extremists would insist on those divisive elements that were part (officiated by) of these agreements. Ihsan Ali was against the provisions for separate municipalities and courts and against the stationing in Cyprus of Greek and Turkish military forces. He was also against the Treaty of Guarantee and blamed mainly the Colonial power for it.

This is an issue on which many and conflicting views have been expressed in the past. What is important is that today we are very far from Ihsan Ali's vision of a truly independent Cyprus, whose citizens would feel primarily Cypriots and then Greeks and Turks, respectively. We have come to the point when Mr. Denktash feels free to openly propagate the creation of a confederation of two independent Cyprus states, something which would primarily be detrimental to the Turkish Cypriots.

Unfortunately, the reasonable and prudent citizens of both communities cannot get together and we, the Greek Cypriots, have no more the opportunities

to meet with our Turkish Cypriots compatriots and try to convince them that Denktash's policy would be detrimental first to the Turkish Cypriot community and then, by extension, to Cyprus as a whole. There have been reactions from Turkish Cypriots but their voices are not allowed to be heard. No wonder more and more Turkish Cypriots, leave the country, no wonder their voices are becoming weaker. For this present state of affairs, many Greek Cypriots are responsible. We have not persuaded even ourselves that the Federation that we aim at is the best possible solution for Cyprus. The voices that are being heard against a federal system are loud and damaging and regrettably our reaction to them is very lukewarm.

Mistakes have been made from the very beginning, because neither side believed and tried hard for the success of the Cyprus Republic. Even today certain behaviours and manifestations do not conform with its independence and its sovereignty. Until 1988 the Cyprus flag was absent from the office of the President and the Ministers of the Government and very often until today the Greek flag predominates over that of Cyprus and 38 years after its establishment, the Cyprus Republic still does not have its own anthem.

In expressing my views I refer mainly to mistakes and omissions of our side, because I believe that it is our duty to take initiatives that can lead Cyprus to the road of prudence and reconciliation. Let us have no illusions. Neither Ankara nor the official Turkish Cypriot leadership, which is dependent on Ankara, is expected to take initiatives which might be beneficial to Cyprus as a whole. It is up to us, the Greek Cypriots, to persuade the Turkish Cypriots to march together with us on the road towards a Cyprus Federation under which their rights as well as ours will be fully protected.

The policy of rapprochement, the policy of Ihsan Ali, is now more difficult than ever before due to Mr. Denktash's intransigence, but it is still feasible and we must persevere. On the other side there are still ears that are willing to hear our message of friendship, reconciliation and peaceful coexistence, provided our deeds go hand in hand with our declarations.

In 1994, my husband crossed the Green Line for the first time to go and address a meeting organized by the Young Turkish Cypriot Businessmen Association on the subject of Cyprus' application for membership in the European Union and the benefits that Cyprus and in particular the Turkish Cypriot community would hope to derive from Cyprus' accession. I accompanied him during that visit and my fear for the possible animosity that we might encounter soon dispersed when the behaviour of «the enemy» was more friendly and constructive than that we often encounter from «friends».

I believe that Cyprus'negotiations for accession to the E.U. may offer new

basis for rapprochement and for improvement of the relations between the two communities and I hope that soon Turkish Cypriots will grasp the opportunity being offered to them and decide to participate earnestly in the accession negotiations. Apart from the obvious economic benefits, Cyprus' accession would also improve the feeling of security which has diminished in both communities. The presence of 40,000 Turkish troops in the occupied area is not an answer to the security problem of the Turkish Cypriots who continue to immigrate, because, they see no future in Cyprus for their children. If we succeed in creating the sense of security to the Turkish Cypriots without the presence of Turkish troops, if we succeed in passing over the message to them that they can trust us, then the road which was dreamed of by Ihsan Ali for an independent Cyprus, a common country of Greek, Turkish, Maronite, Armenian, and Latin Cypriots alike, may reopen and lead us to a happier and more peaceful future.

Mrs Androula Vassiliou, M.P.

Ihsan Ali Shows us the Road

First of all, I would like to state that I feel at somewhat of a disadvantage as a speaker at this colloquium because unlike most of the other speakers I did not have the good fortune to know Dr. Ihsan Ali personally. However I have of course heard a great deal about him and I have recently read his book of memoirs and articles.

So, given these limitations in my knowledge. I am going to try and answer the question «what can someone like myself who has been involved in bi-communal conflict resolution activities and who is interested in reconciliation between the two communities learn from Dr. Ihsan Ali's life and work?» which is really another way of saying that Dr. Ihsan Ali was one of the earliest Cypriots to espouse the concept of conflict resolution and peaceful coexistence before these catch - words became fashionable.

The first thing one can learn from Dr. Ihsan Ali's example is that it is possible to work across community lines while remaining faithful to one's own ethnic identity and ethnic group. But it is also clear that this is often difficult for the majority of people to appreciate, so one becomes suspect to one's own side, who fear one will not pursue their interests strongly enough, and at the same time one is never totally accepted by the other side either. Nevertheless, Dr. Ihsan Ali shows that if one is prepared to pay the price it is possible to tread this difficult path and maintain one's integrity.

Secondly, he shows us that in order to be able to bridge differences one has to understand the needs and sensitivities of both sides. From his memoirs it is clear that this was something that Dr. Ihsan Ali was able to do. For example, it comes across clearly in his discussion of the Greek Cypriot struggle for union with Greece. He shows that he understands the psychological motivation behind the Greek Cypriots behaviour and he indicates that the Turkish reaction that Cyprus should remain under colonial rule was totally anachronistic and inadequate to deal with the problem.

Thirdly, another lesson that I believe we can learn from our subject is that one has to be tolerant and forgiving of people because they often do terrible things. One has to realise that certain individuals in certain situations have committed terrible crimes - this does not mean that these communities must be considered guilty for ever and that reconciliation can never be possible between them.

In his **Memoirs,** Dr. Ihsan Ali does not hesitate to denounce the fanatics in both communities, and he describes how he tried to use his influence to prevent escalation of intercommunal conflicts on a number of occasions.

It is therefore not surprising that in his book Dr. Ihsan Ali is critical of Mr. Denktash saying that as soon as he started to get involved in politics he fostered hatred and fanaticism among the Turkish masses against the Greeks using the slogan that the two communities could not live together. And he goes on to say that it was not in Denktash's character to take into account the true interest of Turks or Turkish Cypriots.

Finally, I would say that Dr. Ihsan Ali shows us that you have to lead by example in your life so that, even if others don't agree with you, they respect you and remember what you stand for.

Kate Clerides, M.P.

Dr. Ihsan Ali and his Vision of a United and Peaceful Cyprus

Dr. Ihsan Ali was a staunch supporter of an independent Cypriot state and a peaceful homeland for the whole population of the island. He did everything he could to promote good and brotherly relations between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots. He was a true patriot, proud of his ethnic origin and religion, but also convinced that both communities could live and prosper in peace and harmony if outside intervention was eliminated. In a letter published in the newspaper *Ta Nea* on 16.6.71, he wrote:

Cyprus is the homeland of all cypriots no matter what their ethnic origin or religion is. The people of Cyprus should not allow this island to turn into hell for the sake of foreign interests. Foreign powers, including Turkey and Greece, must leave the Cypriots alone, and by doing so they will strengthen peace on the island... The Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots want to live in peace as they did in the past. Greece and Turkey should respect the desire of the Cypriots to live together peacefully. Both countries have a heavy responsibility not to victimize the Cypriots...

Unfortunately both countries -- first Greece with the coup d'etat staged by the military regime against President Makarios and then Turkey with a ruthless military invasion -- victimized the island and its people.

Today we can only hope that there is still time and political will for a settlement that will bring together the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots under a bizonal, bicommunal federal republic. It seems that the prospect of Cyprus joining the EU presents a unique opportunity -- and perhaps the last one -- for a long overdue settlement that will reunite the island and its people.

The challenge and the opportunity is knocking at the door of all those involved and concerned. The EU, in cooperation with other actors, is in a unique position to play a role in Cyprus and in the region.

The parties involved or concerned are either part of, or have special relations with the EU and can, therefore, appreciate and support European efforts and initiatives on Cyprus. Greece is a member of the EU while Turkey is as close to the EU as a non-member state can be with the establishment of a customs union. Britain, a major partner in the EU and a guarantor power of the independence and unity of Cyprus under the 1960 settlement of the colonial issue, is in a privileged position to play a constructive role within and outside the EU context. The Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots are faced with a unique challenge and an opportunity to resolve their differences, reunite their island, and become

part of the European integration process that will offer them the security and stability they have been longing for.

The institutions, legal order, principles and policies of the EU -- *the acquis communautaire* -- can provide a conducive framework (and more) in the search for a long overdue political settlement on Cyprus. In fact, settlement and accession can go hand in hand and reinforce and supplement each other. In sum, the prospect of Cyprus's accession to the EU provides a golden opportunity for all parties concerned to raise to the occasion and show their commitment to the principles and values that are as vital to individual countries and their peoples as they are to the EU and the European family of nations.

By making reference to the role the EU can play, it is not implied that the UN has failed on Cyprus. To the contrary blaming the UN for failure would be an unfair oversimplification. The UN is nothing else than a microcosm and a reflection of the real world which has many problems and few solutions, or no solutions at all in some cases. As an institutional arrangement through which countries interact. the UN has no power of its own and cannot do anything that countries are not willing or determined to do. The UN can be efficient only if the parties involved or those who can play a constructive role, especially the powerful ones. have the political will and commitment to do so and find solutions. In the case of Cyprus. this has not been the case. As it has been aptly and repeatedly stated. Cyprus is not Kuwait.

As Dr. Ihsan Ali would say, a settlement of the Cyprus problem, should be based on universal principles of human rights and dignity and provide security and equal opportunities to all Cypriots.

A solution to the Cyprus problem, however, cannot be an abstract construction. It should also be viable, functional and a lasting one. Such a solution, by definition -- and I am sure Dr. Ihsan Ali would insist on this -- will have no room for occupation forces or the permanent stationing of foreign armies.

Under the circumstances, a settlement based on a bizonal and bicommunal form of federation seems to be reasonable, feasible and viable -- assuming of course that all citizens will enjoy universally accepted rights and opportunities all over the island. Given the realities of Cyprus -- geography, economy, size, distribution of natural resources, demography, and the political failures of the past -- a federal solution seems to be the only pragmatic way out of the stalemate.

Such a solution will be more appealing if its implementation precedes or coincides with Cyprus' accession to the EU. But this is a scenario that needs substantive and substantial support from all parties involved and concerned. The Cypriots themselves should realise that a remedy to their problems can be sought

through pacific means, evolutionary peaceful change, political and administrative adjustments, renovation of political thinking and the cultivation of conciliatory attitudes. Certainly, the entire population will be better off if the island ceases to be a place of arms and confrontation, and the present status quo is replaced by a meaningful political order that will allow the two communities to co-exist in peace under conditions of stability and security.

In conclusion it can be stated with certainty that a settlement of the Cyprus problem has the potential of producing only winners. If a solution is combined with accession, the benefits will increase considerably for all those who genuinely want peace and stability on the island. In this regard, the next enlargement of the EU can provide an opportunity for a fresh look at the problems plaguing the island and the region. And this is exactly the message Dr. Ihsan Ali was constantly trying to convey to both communities: the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots have a lot in common and above all a common homeland and a common future. Therefore, they should look their differences in open mind and open spirit and try to develop conciliatory attitudes and policies. Even today we can still hope that this can happen.

Dr. Joseph S. Joseph
Asst Professor
University of Cyprus

Human Rights, Cyprus and Dr Ihsan Ali

In 36 days the United Nations (UN) will commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of their own Declaration of Human Rights. Subsequent to the horrific World War II, fought in defence of Freedom and Democracy, the whole of Mankind expected succour and hope. And the victorious UN, consequent to the Charter of the UN, responded by solemnly proclaiming that

> *Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the Human Family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.*

Nurtured by the best in **humanitarian traditions**, the Declaration went beyond the political Rights to embrace all Rights. Thus, the Declaration was succinctly exalted by the General Assembly as an "achievement for all people and nations." The Declaration was followed by two international covenants on human rights: The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, both adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1966.

Still, despite the grandeur and coherence of both the Declaration and the Covenants, there is in practice the problem of implementation. Contrary to the eulogies of romantics and the criticism of cynics, I submit that their value to Mankind is by and large beneficial. As a Cypriot, however, I cannot overlook the mishaps in Cyprus over the past 50 years.

In this paper, I shall pose six questions. Of paramount importance is the first: What must the UN and friendly countries do for Cyprus? They must come out with an iron hand and definitive resolutions. They must not only request and urge, but condemn and demand.

2. How does the Un approach "involve" the Parent countries and the two Cypriot communities? Optimistic intentions, but unmaterialised.

3. How have the recent UN and U.S. mediation efforts fared? Brave efforts by Mr Diego Gordovez of the UN and Mr R. Holbrooke of the U.S. have been neutralised.

4. What is the share of Cyprus in all these failures? Protagonists are also the Cypriots themselves. Most are infatuated with the fantasy or fallacy that our island is the centre of the world. Fed dialy and nightly by sensational headlines and headlights of the media, they stumble on with their contentions and

recriminations, their misgivings and misdoing - mindless of the repercussions and relapses. The few who dare voice a moderate attitude and advocate conciliation are rudely accused of defeatism - if not treason. And, of course, are outweighed by the hue and cry of the multitude of demagogues and fanatics, grown on chauvinism. Theirs are the clamours of their Tower of Babel. An equally stupendous and implacable enemy is the long **estrangement between Greek and Turk,** which squeezes them into mistrust and suspicion. By 1964, thousands of Greeks and Turks under thirty years of age, and by now many more under sixty have never seen one another, except when confronted along the Green Line.

5. What ought Greece and Turkey to do? Both are over protective. They must return to the statesmanlike exploits of Venizelos and Kemal Ataturk of 1930, first by braking on the armaments race. Otherwise, NATO must intervene to impose upon them the **Terms of Peace,** as they have recently done in Bosnia and Cossovo.

6. The final question: What is the way out of this quagmire? Here enters the vision of the Humane Doctor, Statesman and Patriot Ihsan Ali. A united Cyprus governed by mutual respect, tolerance and understanding between the two communities, fulfilling the Human Rights and fostering the well-being of all her citizens. In his own words: "The island belongs to the Cypriots and it is they who should take care of its progress and welfare."

What would his advice be, 20 years after his untimely demise? As a friend for 20 years, I dare surmise his response. *Insist upon a peaceful and just solution.* He would also concur with the current initiative of the newly appointed UN Representative Dame Ann Hercus to minimise the tension along the Green Line and next to expand northward and southward the neutral zone. This, together with increasing contacts between Greeks and Turks at all levels, will certainly help forestall any incident likely to frustrate this promising start, strengthened by an initial accord between Greece and Turkey.

I shall conclude by provoking your imagination to visualise this **picture:** On 10 December 1998, upon the fiftieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a couple of odd fellow - travelers, and personal friends for almost four decades, namely CLERIDES and DENKTASH, solemnly dedicate themselves and their Communities to the Declaration and the two International Covenants on Human Rights and jointly submit two urgent REQUESTS:

a) To the UN for the implementation of all UN Resolutions concerning Cyprus, and

b) To the European Union for the expedition of the procedures for the accession of Cyprus to the family of Europe.

This is certainly a fantastically tall order. Yet, there is a remnant of hope in the memory that 30 years ago, as well as 15 years ago, the two leaders were sincere and decisive in their bicommunal talks for a final and just salvation. Of course, a lot of water has passed under the bridge since then, but let them now agree on sharing this precious commodity.

UNITED WE STAND OR FALL TOGETHER.

P.J. Cotsapas
Retired Teacher, BA (Athens),
MA (London)

PRESS RELEASE

Nicosia
8 November, 1998

20th Anniversary of Dr Ihsan Ali's Passing Away

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the passing away of Dr Ihsan Ali, a solemn meeting was held on 6 November 1998 at the Hilton, Nicosia, to remember him, the man who was a true Cypriot and a staunch supporter of the independence and sovereignty of a united Cyprus. The meeting was organized by the Ihsan Ali Foundation.

Mrs Androulla Vassiliou, Mrs Katy Clerides, Mr Andreas Loizou, Mr Andreas Mavrommatis, Prof. Joseph Joseph and Mr Phivos Cotsapas presented short papers on the personality and principles of Dr Ihsan Ali. There followed discussions and expression of opinion also by Mayor Lellos Demetriades, Mr Christos Clerides, Mr Stelios Theodoulou, Mr Andreas Christou, Mr Haris Menelaou and the members of the Board of Trustees of the Ihsan Ali Foundation. The Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Dr Ozdemir A. Ozgur, was the moderator. The participants were invited in their individual capacity, not because of political affiliation.

In essence, the participants spoke of Dr Ihsan Ali's exemplary position to the effect that it is possible to work across community lines, to understand the needs and the sensitivities of both sides, and to be tolerant and forgiving. They referred to his kindness, fairness and sense of social justice. They related him to human rights, non-discrimination and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the fiftieth anniversary of which is going to be commemorated soon, on 10 December next. They elaborated on his humanitarianism, moral courage, truthfulness and foresight. They mentioned his vision of an independent Cyprus, a common country of all Cypriots. They cited his own words: «this island belongs to the Cypriots and it is they who should take care of it».

At the meeting, it was felt that more should be done to promote Dr Ihsan Ali's ideals of mutual understanding, tolerance and friendship among all Cypriots and to inform the younger generations about this true patriot's ideals. It was suggested that the Foundation should continue with its policy of sticking to its expressed objectives and avoiding involvement in politics. It was proposed, for example, that a study may be undertaken on the subject of education on the basis of UNESCO conventions on education, especially having regard to history books

taught in Cyprus. It was also suggested that a seminar may be organised on the same subject. Some participants expressed the opinion that there is some confusion in the utterances on the subject of rapprochement and that the Foundation may perhaps be of good service if it can study and correct and clarify the situation.

On the same day, in the evening, again at the Hilton Hotel, a dinner was organised for the expression of solidarity with the Foundation. The Chairman of the Foundation, Dr Ozdemir A. Ozgur, spoke about the objectives and the activities of the Foundation, while Dr Vassos Lyssarides spoke of his memories about his friend Dr Ihsan Ali. The dinner was accompanied by live classic music. The invites made up a good attendance of about one hundred distinguished persons. Some, who could not attend the dinner, made donations to the Foundation, thus expressing their solidarity.

On the occasion of the anniversary, a meeting was organised in Paphos on 23 October 1998 where the Hon. Mayor Mr Phidias Sarikas, Mr Phivos Cotsapas, Dr Andreas Petrides and Dr Ozdemir A. Ozgur spoke on Dr Ihsan Ali's life and ideals as well as on the objectives and the activities of the Foundation.

IHSAN ALI FOUNDATION